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The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. -- James Monroe

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SEPTEMBER 23, 1940

Reasons For French Defeat Are Studied

Sudden Collapse of France Not Due Merely to Failure of Army on Battlefield

LACK OF UNITY ONE CAUSE

Moneyed Classes, Labor, the Army, and French Press All Insisted on Own Privileges First

A new and unfamiliar France has come into being during the past few months. Our newspapers tell of a broken and prostrate nation, struggling to maintain some semblance of dignity and independence, to resettle the war refugees, and to feed its people. All this seems strange and unreal to everyone who has become accustomed to thinking of France as she used to be. It seems strange that, from the comfortable security of our own homes and desks, we can look across the ocean upon the agony and humiliation of what was less than a year ago a great nation—proud, seemingly strong, and secure. Today it is a shattered wreck. Two-thirds of France is occupied by German troops. The remaining one-third is ruled by a government which, headed by the aged Marshal Pétain, is just barely a government. We read of Frenchmen accusing other Frenchmen, of French officials arresting other French officials on charges of treason. We read of the French Empire breaking up, piece by piece, and of a France which has lost its unity in defeat and become a house divided against itself.

France of Yesterday

All this is news. Like the Battle of Britain, now raging, it is news of the highest importance. But even in an hour so critical as this, it can be as much to our advantage to look at France as she was a few years ago as to follow the course of events in France now. Why? Because the France of several years ago in many respects resembled the United States of 1940. In 1936 France was a great democracy, highly civilized, highly industrialized, and a world power. Her people enjoyed a large degree of individual liberty, a relatively high standard of living, and a moderately good understanding of world affairs. France had a program of social reform, on one hand, and of rearmament and defense, on the other. In arms and in trained man power she was far stronger than we are today. Yet France collapsed in less than a month and a half.

Military commentators have already told and retold the story of France's defeat on the field of battle. They have told of the government's shortsightedness in failing to extend the Maginot Line along the Belgian border to the sea. They have told of how, last spring, the British, French, and Belgian armies concentrated vast quantities of men and materials in northeastern France and along the English Channel; of how the swiftly moving spearhead of a German mechanized column struck between these forces and the north end of the Maginot Line, of how bridges which should have been blown up were not, of how the roads were clogged with refugees, of how French armies failed to assume their assigned positions on time, and of how this German column struck deep into France, wheeled north to the Channel and cut off British, Belgian, Dutch, and large numbers of French troops from the main body of the French army.

We know that in this gigantic trap
(Concluded on page 7)



FRANCE—NATION IN DEFEAT

NEWMAN FROM W. W.

Third - Term Issue Is Debated in Campaign

Opponents Stress Importance of Limitation of Term. New Dealers Cite Crisis

ARGUMENTS ARE PRESENTED

Question Hinges on Whether Reelection of Roosevelt Is Necessary or Would Be Dangerous Precedent

It is certain that the third-term issue will figure largely in the presidential campaign. On the first day of his campaign tour, before he had delivered the first of his main speeches, Republican candidate Wendell Willkie emphasized this issue, declaring that only four men in the world consider themselves indispensable—Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin, and Roosevelt. That charge will be carried to the four corners of the land. Followers of Roosevelt will, of course, reply that another term for Roosevelt, under the circumstances, is indispensable to the safety and welfare of the nation.

There are those on both sides of this issue who take the matter very seriously indeed. There are opponents of the third term who take a very alarming view of the reelection of President Roosevelt—who think that the violation of the third-term tradition would have very grave and immediate consequences. It has been declared by responsible leaders in the Republican party that if Roosevelt is elected to the third term, he will do away with democracy and establish a dictatorship or a totalitarian government in the United States.

Opposition

Responsible Democratic leaders have, on the other hand, taken the position that "a vote against Roosevelt is a vote for Hitler." They say that the Republicans are "appeasers," and that the only way America can register its opposition to Nazism is to support the President for another term. There are, of course, many in both parties whose opinions are more moderate than those which have just been expressed.

Among those who are profoundly alarmed at the probable results of giving President Roosevelt a third term is the Republican candidate, Wendell Willkie. He said in his speech at Coffeyville, Kansas: "I warn you—and I say this in dead earnest—if, because of some fine speeches about humanity, you return this administration to office, you will be serving under an American totalitarian government before the long third term is finished." Mr. Willkie went on to say:

"Let me make myself clear. I say nothing about the personal motives of Mr. Roosevelt. He is a man educated and reared in American traditions. He may not want dictatorship and I do not think he does. But in his hands our traditions are not safe.

"He has lost his grip on our American principles. He gives lip service to them but he does not know how to preserve them. He has put our democratic system in danger of its life.

"The issue we have to decide in this campaign is whether the political rights that I am exercising today, shall endure; or whether we shall leave in the hands of the President of the United States, now seeking office, the power to destroy our system."

Supporters of the third term contend that there is no danger of dictatorship in case of President Roosevelt's election. They argue the case in this way:

"It would be well for people who talk
(Concluded on page 6)

A Creed of Tolerance

BY WALTER E. MYER

How many of the readers of this paper can truthfully and thoughtfully subscribe to the following creed of tolerance?

"I am not a middle-of-the-roader. I take sides on many controversial issues because I have convictions. I realize that I may often be on the wrong road. I know that what I believe to be right may not be right, but I cannot wait for certainty. No one can. I am under obligation to act in the interests which seem best to me, and act I will. But realizing the possibility of error, I will be ever on the watch to see if my views need correction and if my course needs to be changed. I understand that progress comes only if I discover new bits of truth, only if I keep correcting my position and if I continue to discard wrong impressions in the light of new knowledge. I know how difficult it is to strive enthusiastically for goals which may have to be shifted, but I am convinced that by such a process, and by no other, can we come closer to the truth.

"Since useful living is so much a matter of trial and error it is important that there be as much freedom as possible in the trials. It is important that the search for truth should be unhampered. I demand for myself the right to act in accordance with my present beliefs, even though I know they may eventually be changed. I accord the same privilege to others. I believe in the right of free speech guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. I will never give support to any effort to deny to any man the privilege of speaking merely because his views are diametrically opposed to my own.

"Not only will I sustain the right of those whom I oppose to be heard, but I will listen respectfully to opposing views. I will not listen indiscriminately. If my reasoned judgment tells me that a certain contribution is not worth my time, I will ignore it, but I will question such a decision with searching honesty to make sure it is based upon reason and not upon prejudice. While open-minded on controversial issues, I take my stand without reservation upon certain causes which I do not consider controversial. I am wholeheartedly for my country and for the democratic form of government. I shall not question the desirability of maintaining our democratic government, but I shall work untiringly to improve it. I shall stand for the rights of all Americans; minorities as well as majorities. And all the while I shall keep my face to the front, working for those principles which seem to me worthy of support."

If you can make such a declaration, you will be on the road to a sound education. Incidentally, you will be setting yourself off from the prejudice-ridden herd.



KEYSTONE

CRITICAL ELECTION OF YESTERYEAR

The political campaign of 1860 is regarded as one of the most important in the nation's history. It resulted in the election of Abraham Lincoln and preceded the outbreak of the Civil War. While the United States is not on the verge of civil war in 1940, the nation at this time is facing an international crisis of unknown dimensions.

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

The Third-Term Tradition

THE election this year will afford the American people the first opportunity in their history to test the strength of the third-term tradition. Never before have they actually had the chance to go to the polls and cast their votes for or against a man who was running for his third term as president of the United States. There have been third-term movements before, when the attempt has been made to nominate a president for more than two terms. Indeed, such movements have been



DAVID S. MUZZEY

launched in connection with every chief executive who served two full terms. But none before has had sufficient strength even to receive the nomination of his party. On what principles or laws is opposition to the third term based? It should be clearly pointed out that there is nothing in the United States Constitution or in any law on the statute books to prevent a president from seeking a third term, or even a fourth term for that matter. At various times in our history, anti-third-term resolutions have been introduced in one or both houses of Congress, but none of them has ever been passed by both houses.

Historical Precedent

Opposition to the third term springs from two principal sources: historical precedent and principle. The example of George Washington in retiring at the end of his second term has been cited as the establishment of a sound precedent which should be followed by all later presidents. Washington did not, however, retire from the presidency because of opposition to the third term. He was old and tired and anxious to retire to the calm and serenity of Mount Vernon. He would have withdrawn at the end of his first term had the "perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations" not persuaded him to serve a second term. His reasons were largely the same as those which have motivated Franklin D. Roosevelt to run for a third term. As a matter of fact, Washington went on record as not favoring a limitation upon a president's tenure. "I can see no propriety," he wrote to Lafayette in 1788, "in precluding ourselves from the services of any man who, on some great emergency, shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public."

Although Washington did not oppose the

third term on principle, his retirement did establish a precedent which has carried considerable weight ever since. The real leader of the anti-third-term movement was Thomas Jefferson who, in his writings and utterances, strongly opposed the third term in principle. His most outspoken statement on the subject was made some years after he had left the White House:

The example of four presidents voluntarily retiring at the end of their eighth year, and the progress of public opinion that the principle is salutary, have given it in practice the force of precedence and usage; inasmuch, that should a president consent to be a candidate for a third election, I trust he would be rejected, on this demonstration of ambitious views.

Grant and Theodore Roosevelt

Two presidents, before Franklin D. Roosevelt, gave partial tests to the third-term tradition, Ulysses S. Grant and Theodore Roosevelt, although in neither case was it a clear-cut issue placed before the people in election. There are reasons to believe that President Grant was anxious to receive the Republican nomination in 1876 for a third term. He was still in the prime of life and was not opposed to the third term in principle. He was not given the nomination in 1876 but four years later, after his triumphal tour of the world, he had considerably more support. States elected delegates to the 1880 Republican convention pledged to Grant. When the convention opened, he had 304 votes, 74 less than the number necessary for nomination. The Grant forces held out for 35 ballots, but they finally yielded.

The case of Theodore Roosevelt is peculiar. When he ran for president on the Progressive ticket in 1912, Roosevelt had, for all practical purposes, already served two terms, although he had been elected only once. His first term resulted from the assassination of McKinley a few months after the election of 1900. Roosevelt held that he had served two terms and promised in 1904 that "under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination." By 1912, however, he had changed his mind and sought the Republican nomination and split the party. Had Roosevelt been elected in 1912, he would have served a total of 11½ years, practically three full terms. And it is very likely that he would have been elected if he could have captured enough Taft delegates to obtain the nomination. In the election, he and Taft together polled more than a million votes more than Woodrow Wilson. That election cannot, therefore, be considered a clear-cut test of the strength of the third-term tradition because of the split in the Republican party.

Our Neighbors -

"It takes a long time for ideas to get around," says Professor White. "One will be developed by a leader of thought, and will be accepted by a few people almost immediately. But many years may elapse before people in general hear of it. And after they hear of it, they are likely to do nothing about it. Most great thinkers die without seeing many concrete results of their thinking."

Professor White has in mind a number of examples. "I have just been reading Herbert Spencer's 'Education,'" he says. "It was written in 1861, but the problem he presented is still with us. He says that people prefer ornamental to useful things. Savages dress for appearance rather than warmth. The same is true with things of the mind. The schools teach ornamental rather than useful subjects. Spencer said that 'As the Orinoco Indian puts on his paint before leaving his hut, not with a view to any direct benefit, but because he would be ashamed to be seen without it; so, a boy's drilling in Latin and Greek is insisted on, not because of their intrinsic value, but that he may not be disgraced by being found ignorant of them.'"

Mr. White is taking his book to faculty meeting. (He picked it up at the bookstore for 29 cents—an edition published by Burt's Home Library.) He will argue there that the schools still teach subjects which have little use in real life merely because it is customary that they be taught. He is likely to get into a lively argument, because some of his colleagues contend that every subject in the curriculum is directly useful to students.



CHARLES COPYCAT is smoking his favorite brand of cigarette. It is his favorite because he reads cigarette ads and has seen pictures of a famous athlete whom he admires smoking this particular brand. If it is good enough for the athletic hero, it is good enough for Charlie. That is the way he figures it. But there are a good many things that Charlie doesn't know. One of them is that famous people sometimes sell their names to advertisers. A man who is pictured smoking a certain brand of cigarette may not smoke cigarettes at all. He may simply have sold to the company the right to say that he uses its cigarettes. That sort of thing frequently happens.

Charlie's friends have been around a little more than he has. They know more about the ways of the world. They are not taken in by cigarette ads. They are athletes themselves, and avoid smoking, in accordance with the coach's advice. They are amused at Charlie because he is such an easy mark.



MARGARET JONES has been doing some thinking lately. She has been just drifting along, enjoying life well enough, but making no preparation for earning her living in the future. Now she wonders if she shouldn't give some thought to a vocation. She supposes she may get married in a few years and have a husband to support her, but one can never tell to a certainty. Anyway, she doesn't want to depend wholly on that; doesn't want to be a parasite.

But what shall she do? She has no outstanding talents. Her school record is quite good, however. She makes very good grades in English, and feels that she is a careful, dependable person and is careful with details. When she told her story to the guidance director he advised that she consider secretarial work. So, following his suggestion, she is studying stenography and typing, and in addition is spending much time in her English work, and is reading widely. She has been told that if she wants to become a secretary rather than merely a stenographer, she should be well informed as well as accurate in her technical work.



HENRY LUCKLESS is an honest, hard-working man—honest all the time, but hard working only when there is work to do. He is not a highly skilled worker and has always been obliged to take such unskilled work as he could get, but, until the depression came, he was nearly always employed and made a fair living for his family. The children, to whom he is devoted, were well clothed and went to school regularly.

But for several years Luckless has been unemployed. He has tried to find work; has tramped the streets calling on every employer who might have something for him; but he has had to return home empty-handed. He reads in the paper that some people say any man who wants work can find it, but he knows that the statement isn't true. If those who say such things could see the despair in his heart, they would not say such things. It is a heartbreaking thing to see his wife and children shabby and sometimes actually hungry.

The Luckless family is not on relief. The local government gives relief to people who are not able to work, but Henry Luckless is not an unemployable. The federal government gives work-relief jobs to employables, but this fall there seem to be not enough to go around. A church organization is helping the Luckless family, giving them coal, food, and clothing. Mr. Luckless has been helped to find odd jobs, and he hopes soon to find something permanent.



"I've thought all along that the United States should stop Japan's conquests in the Far East," says Swanson, "and now I'm more convinced than ever. Not only should we do it, but we can. Facts and figures in the September *American Mercury* prove it. Last year Japan got 85 per cent of her petroleum from us, 95 per cent of her scrap iron, 88 per cent of her ferro-alloys, and 99 per cent of her copper. If we shut off these exports to her, where could she get them? Nowhere. She'd have to stop her wars. She is at our mercy. But do we use our advantage? Not at all. We shrink at the thought of doing anything and say there's nothing we can do about it."

"Listen to this," continues Swanson, quoting an article, "We Can Stop Japan":

"In the precise week in which the Congress of the United States voted the first lump of a 10-billion-dollar naval appropriation, the Japanese placed the largest order on record in the United States for scrap iron to build the Japanese ships that make the two-ocean navy necessary. . . . Only at the end of July did the administration finally get around to the preliminary step toward shutting off supplies of oil and scrap iron to Japan; it prohibited their export without government license. Then it embargoed shipment of airplane gasoline to countries outside this hemisphere. Presumably Japan can still fuel its navy with American oil."

Elsie takes issue. She says we can't fight a war on two fronts at the same time. We may have to repel Hitler in the Atlantic, so we mustn't start trouble with Japan in the Pacific; we don't have a two-ocean navy so we mustn't start a two-ocean quarrel.





WASHINGTON SCHOOL FOR SECRETARIES
THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

• Vocational Outlook •

Stenography and Secretarial Work

THOUSANDS of young people each year look to stenographic and secretarial work for career openings. The field is, in fact, a broad one, embracing close to a million workers and the turnover is unusually high. Unfortunately, a great many of those who prepare for this work regard it as a stop-gap to some vague ambition rather than as a career in itself, with the result that the field is loaded with too many incompetents, wholly content with themselves if they can just get by. It is perhaps because of this attitude, rather than anything else, that the turnover in secretaries and stenographers is so rapid; employers are constantly on the search for the secretary or stenographer who is deeply interested in the job to be done, who has an alert mind. The enterprising stenographer can readily make himself almost indispensable to his employer, so valuable that the employer would think twice before giving him up.

In this connection, it should be pointed out that not enough young men have given serious consideration to secretarial work as a career. There is but one man for every 20 women in the vocation. Yet for some years, surveys have pointed to an active and unsatisfied demand for male stenographers. One vocational authority, in commenting upon the shortage of skilled male stenographers and secretaries, made this comment on the subject: "It is inexplicable that with hordes of young men prodded by inclination and their parents to desire white-collar jobs, there should be this blind spot regarding the possibilities of the stenographical start."

It is not, of course, very difficult to account for this situation. At the bottom of young men's reluctance to regard secretarial work as a serious career is a prejudice, fostered by the predominance of women in the field, that it is not "a man's job." Needless to say, this is the sheerest nonsense. The male stenographer, if he reveals sufficient initiative and intelligence, is in an excellent position to rise to a job of executive responsibility. As he makes himself more valuable to his employer, he can count on getting a salary well above the run-of-mine secretaries.

The need for male stenographers is particularly evident in such fields as law, medicine, and banking where a specialized vocabulary is required and where a certain acquaintance with the general field is desirable. There are also opportunities, though limited in number, for court reporters; that is, stenographers who record testimony in the courts. Court reporters must be able to take shorthand very rapidly. Against the fact that the opportunities in this field are few is the fact that the rate of compensation is excellent.

In preparing for this vocation, the student should first of all concentrate upon mastering the technical skills required by the profession. He should acquire speed and accuracy in shorthand and typewriting and should have a thorough knowledge of grammar, spelling, and punctuation. In addition, he would do well if he familiar-

ized himself with the modern machines used in many business offices. Close attention to such matters as personality traits need only be mentioned. It goes without emphasizing that the successful secretary will never neglect such essentials as courtesy, patience, neatness, and graciousness. But above all, once a secretary is settled in his job the surest way for him to get ahead is to become thoroughly familiar with the technical phases of his firm's business operations.

Initial salaries in the field are, unfortunately, low; for typists, about \$15 a week; for stenographers, \$20. The most frequent salary for experienced typists is \$20, while that for experienced stenographers is between \$20 and \$30. Those who combine secretarial work with executive responsibilities make as much as \$40 to \$75 a week.

Spectacular Progress of Night Games Marks 1940 Ball Season

THE baseball season, which is now coming to a close, has brought several interesting developments. As usual, certain players have stood out from the crowd because of their spectacular achievements. This year Bob Feller of the Cleveland Indians has won for himself a place among the really great pitchers of all time, and Joe DiMaggio, of the New York Yankees, has maintained his position around the top as a fielder and batter. He is largely responsible for the surprise his club has staged at the end of the season.

A number of weeks ago, the Yankees seemed to be out of the running. Cleveland was leading, and there was a strong probability that the Indians would win the pennant for the first time since 1920. Then the New Yorkers came back, pushing their way up until they threatened Cleveland's supremacy. As we go to press, the contest is a three-cornered fight, with the Detroit Tigers, the Indians, and the Yankees all battling hard for the pennant. The pennant race in the American League has proved more sensational this year than anything the League has witnessed since the Yankees beat the St. Louis Browns by a half game in 1922.

If the Yankees win the pennant and the championship again this time, it will be the fifth consecutive year they have done so. They have won the Series more often than any other club. Here is the championship record of the various clubs since 1903 when the World Series was played for the first time: American League—New York 8, Boston 5, Philadelphia 5, Chicago 2, Cleveland 1, Washington 1, Detroit 1; National League—New York 5, St. Louis 3, Chicago 2, Pittsburgh 2, Boston 1, Cincinnati 1. The American League has won the World Series 23 times, and the National League 14 times.

An interesting development of the season

has been the increasing popularity of night baseball. Until this year, American and National League clubs were slow to recognize the popularity of the night schedule. Even though minor leagues were playing most of their games under powerful floodlights and drawing heavy crowds, the top teams said the people preferred to watch baseball games in the afternoon. Their experience this year with the night games seems to justify the prediction that night baseball will become increasingly popular in the future, although many players have a difficult time in adjusting themselves to playing under artificial light.

In addition to being a popular sport, professional baseball is a business that makes real money. The playing of the World Series between the pennant winners of the two major leagues always draws something like 200,000 spectators and brings in several hundred thousand dollars. Eight times, in the last 20 years, the box-office receipts have exceeded a million. To a great extent the "gate" depends upon the number of games played. Frequently six or seven games are played, and the receipts mount accordingly.

Last year New York and Cincinnati played only four games, the attendance was 183,849 and the receipts totaled \$745,329. The individual player's share was \$5,541 for the Yankees and \$4,193 for the Reds.

The players of the two World Series teams are not the only ones to share in the gate receipts. The clubs which come second, third, and fourth in the two leagues get a share, and the leagues themselves take part of the money to add to their treasuries.

♦ SMILES ♦



"SEE! THEY'RE NOT HOSTILE ANY MORE"
ROIR IN COLLIERS

"You can't have it!" said the mother. "Haven't I said 'No' six times already?" "All right," replied the son, "but I wonder where dad gets the idea that you're always changing your mind." —CLASSMATE

A typhoid patient, getting better, demanded something to eat. The nurse gave him a teaspoonful of custard.

"Now," he said, "I should like something to read. How about a postage stamp?" —SELECTED

"Why do you prefer Wagner?" "Because he composed about the only kind of music one can hear above the conversation." —SAGEHEN

Dressmaker: "Ah, madam, I consider that dress the most perfect fit I have ever seen!" Customer: "You should see the one my husband will have when he gets the bill." —CLASSMATE

"She sang that song in a haunting manner." "Do you think so?" "Yes, there was just the ghost of a resemblance to the original air." —LYRE

The passer-by peered anxiously into the open manhole. "Don't tell me," he cried, "that you fell in there!"

Up from the depths came a voice: "Of course not, you fool. I just happened to be here and they built the street around me!" —SELECTED

Information Test

Answers to history and geography questions may be found on page 8. If you miss too many of them, a review of history and geography is advisable. Current history questions refer to this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.

American History

1. Women are given the right to vote in national elections by what amendment to the Constitution?
2. Since 1900, the United States has had eight presidents. Can you name them?
3. What early American statesman is generally thought of as the leading advocate of a strong central government favorable to commercial and industrial enterprise?
4. When was the first train drawn by a steam locomotive, instead of by horses, in this country?
5. The last of the 48 states was added in 1912. Which one was it?
6. Alaska was purchased by the United States in 1867 from (a) Canada, (b) Russia, (c) England.
7. True or false: The American-Mexican War was fought in 1846-48.

Geography

1. Which is the largest state in the United States? Smallest?
2. Name the five leading rivers in this country.
3. True or false: Chile produces more copper than any other South American country.
4. Which is the smallest republic in the Western Hemisphere?
5. What are the two leading products of the Hawaiian Islands?
6. The United States' busiest southern seaport is (a) Dallas, (b) New Orleans, (c) Savannah, (d) Key West.
7. Continental United States ranks in area among the other na-

tions of the world, and in population.

Current History

1. What position did George Washington take with respect to limiting the president's term of office? What was the position of Thomas Jefferson?
2. Contrast the position of those who oppose the third term with that of the New Dealers.
3. What evidence is there that the collapse of France was due to causes other than military?
4. Why is it impossible to lay the blame at the door of any particular group? Name several different groups which must share the blame for the collapse.
5. What interesting developments has the baseball season which is drawing to a close brought?
6. Approximately how many men will be obliged to register in accordance with the provisions of the final conscription law?
7. Who has been chosen speaker of the House of Representatives to succeed the late William B. Bankhead?
8. What is the weakest factor in the United States system of defense highways?
9. What is the difference between "Greater London" and "The City"? What is the population of Greater London?
10. What is meant by the I-Chan system of transportation?
11. Name the five South American countries which use the Rio de la Plata as a commercial highway.

The Week at Home

Conscription Is Law

The stormy debate on peacetime conscription came to an abrupt end, and both houses were calm as they passed, with margins of nearly two to one, the "Selective Training and Service Act of 1940." Its principal provisions are these:

1. All men from 21 to 35, inclusive, with few specified exceptions, shall register as directed by the President.

2. The President may call up for training as many of the registrants as he thinks necessary, except that the number in service at any time during peace is not to exceed 900,000.

3. The drafted men will be trained for 12 months. Should Congress declare that "the national interest is imperiled," the period may be extended by the President.

4. Federal employees will be reemployed after their service. Private firms will restore positions to drafted men "unless the employer's circumstances have so changed as to make it impossible or unreasonable." States and their political subdivisions are requested to reemploy draftees.

5. Companies which refuse to accept or give priority to defense contracts may have their plants taken over by the President on a rental basis. The responsible head of such a company may be punished by three years' imprisonment and a fine of \$50,000.

6. The President has authority to set up local boards to classify the registrants.

7. Draft evaders and those who aid them may be punished by imprisonment for five years or a fine of \$10,000 or both.

8. The act expires May 15, 1945.

The President signed the act immedi-



SPEAKER RAYBURN

Acting as speaker pro-tempore during the illness of the late Speaker Bankhead, Representative Rayburn signed the conscription law, one of the most important measures passed by Congress in many years.

ately and issued a proclamation naming October 16 as the day for registration.

Highway Preparedness

We have 225,000 miles of highways in this country, and 75,000 of them are part of a strategic network vitally important to our national defense. Last month President Roosevelt asked the Public Roads Administration and the highway officials of the 48 states to survey, from a military point of view, the roads and the bridges of this strategic net.

The survey, now nearing completion, has paid particular attention to strength of bridges, width of roads, and service to cities, army posts, air bases, and naval

TYPES OF NAVAL CRAFT	BUILT	BUILDING	NEW ORDERS	TOTAL
BATTLESHIPS	15	10	7	32
AIRCRAFT CARRIERS	6	4	8	18
CRUISERS	37	21	27	85
DESTROYERS	197	56	115	368
SUBMARINES	103	39	43	185
TOTALS	358	130	200	688

HOW THE NAVAL STRENGTH OF THE UNITED STATES WILL INCREASE

bases. The size and the weight of our Army's guns, caissons, tanks, and trucks have been considered in drawing up specifications for the construction required.

According to John M. Carmody, Federal Works administrator, weak bridges represent the most critical factor. "On the average there is a weak bridge every 35 miles," he says. "Their present use involves risk to the users. A wartime use may invite disaster."

More than 2,000 bridges must be strengthened or rebuilt. Old roads must be straightened and shoulders widened. Grades must be reduced and grade crossings eliminated. The enormous cost of the work will be shared by the federal government and the states. Roads chiefly military will be paid for by the national government. Some of these come first on the program, for the construction of 3,112 miles of roads in and approaching army camps has been announced. The cost of this beginning is \$212,000,000.

A New Speaker

The death of William B. Bankhead of Alabama several days ago meant the loss of one of the Democratic party's congressional "big four." It ended a career which began in the House of Representatives 23 years ago and which earned Mr. Bankhead the distinction of holding the House's three highest positions — chairman of the Rules Committee, majority leader, and speaker of the House. In recent years his influence and political skill played an important part in speeding the passage of New Deal measures. The increasing liberalism of Congress was a source of satisfaction to Speaker Bankhead. "When I first entered Congress," he once said, "the most liberal leaders of the day would have hesitated to propose some of the measures for which the conservatives now vote."

The new speaker is Representative Sam Rayburn of Texas, another member of the "four." His elevation represents the realization of an old ambition. He was in his early teens when he told his schoolmates that he was going to be a lawyer, sit in the state legislature, be speaker there, go to Congress, and at last become speaker of the House. He has fulfilled his prophecy to the letter.

Mr. Rayburn was born in Tennessee, January 6, 1882, but he was educated in Texas and has served that state in Congress ever since 1913. He has been chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, and in 1937, when Mr. Bankhead became speaker, he succeeded to the Democratic leadership. He has a mind of his own, but once differences have been aired it is his custom to "go along" with the majority, and that makes him a "regular party man." He has not allowed his friendship for Vice-President John N. Garner to weaken his loyalty to President Roosevelt.

Soft-spoken and good-humored, Rayburn has made a popular leader. He is modest and unassuming, shuns social

functions, and takes little interest in sports. His only real recreation comes between sessions when he works with his hired hands on his farm near Bonham, Texas.

Session End Near

If administration plans strike no snag, the 76th Congress will adjourn on September 28, bringing to a close a precedent-shattering legislative session. For the first time in the history of the nation, Congress has called for a peacetime draft that will make 16,500,000 registrants liable to military training. Hardly less precedent-breaking are the numerous appropriations for defense, now totaling in the neighborhood of \$16,000,000,000. Before the legislators go home, however, they are expected to take final action on the new tax measure designed both to encourage the construction of new plants for national defense and to guard against excessive profits from national defense orders. While these have been the outstanding questions debated in Congress, others have also been acted upon, including regular appropriation bills, approval of new administrative reorganization plans submitted by the President, and measures to guard against fifth-column activities.

In moving swiftly toward adjournment, the party leaders are anxious to give legislators an opportunity to prepare for the election campaign. The entire House of Representatives is up for election in November — except, of course, the legislators from Maine who were chosen earlier this month — and also a third of the Senate membership.

This session of Congress, incidentally, has seen the death of several legislators who had long been prominent in American political life, including Senator William E. Borah, Senator Ernest Lundeen, and Speaker of the House William Bankhead, who died only last week.



THE DRAFT BOWL

This glass bowl, which was used in selecting draftees in the World War, may be used again in selecting those for compulsory military training. The bowl has been on display at Independence Hall.

Chemists Meet

From the American Chemical Society's recent meeting in Detroit came a number of announcements of important new developments in the field of chemistry. Some of the developments can be immediately put into use, while others will not affect our daily lives until sometime in the future.

Many chemists believe the United States can be nearly self-sufficient in its mineral supplies. They cite, for example, the increasing use of aluminum for coating steel. This is a cheaper and better process than tin-plating steel, and we have a plentiful supply of aluminum ore. Faster, cheaper methods have also been developed for making metals necessary for arms. These employ natural gas—such as is burned in kitchen stoves—instead of air, in the ovens where metals are "cooked."

Quinine is an important medicine, especially in wartime. At present our supply comes from the Dutch East Indies, which may be seized by Japan. Therefore, the discovery of a way to make synthetic quinine, announced to the Chemical Society, may be of great worth.

Disease germs of some types, typhoid, for example, live long on the walls of sick-rooms. They retain deadly power sometimes for as long as six years. Now chemists have created antiseptic wall paints to kill such germs.

Our natural deposits of coal and oil will last for some time yet. But when they do become exhausted, chemists will make synthetic coal and synthetic oil from such common growing things as grass, leaves, seaweed, wood, and cornstalks. They can do it now, but the process is still more expensive than the natural products.

Edward J. Flynn

A six-foot-two New Yorker who knows politics and loves a fight has stepped into Jim Farley's shoes and is directing



EDWARD J. FLYNN

President Roosevelt's campaign for a third term. Edward J. Flynn received his political education in the Bronx section of New York City and attributes his fondness for a scrap to "the Irish in me." His Irish inheritance is very real, for his father, a graduate of Trinity College, Dub-

lin, instilled in him such a love of Ireland that he has visited the old country 15 or 20 times and expects to return again as soon as conditions permit.

The present chairman of the Democratic National Committee was born of well-to-do parents in the Bronx, September 22, 1891. After attending the public schools, he went to Fordham University, where he received his law degree at the age of 18. As soon as he was 21, he was admitted to the bar and opened offices in the Bronx. His firm, Goldwater and Flynn, is still doing very well today.

In 1917 he began the first of his three terms in the New York State Assembly. He was elected sheriff of Bronx County in 1921, and a year later he became the Democratic leader of the Bronx. Old-line politicians were amazed at the success of this wealthy, well-educated, and even shy young man. His political shrewdness and his stubborn persistence enabled him to build up a remarkably efficient political machine in his bailiwick.

Flynn has been a Roosevelt man ever since 1924, and he and the President are close personal friends. Mr. Flynn says he agreed to become campaign manager because of his affection for Mr. Roosevelt and his belief in the work he is doing. Though a successful campaign manager is usually appointed postmaster general, Flynn says he does not need a political job of any kind and does not want one.

The American Observer

A Weekly Review of Social Thought and Action

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The Week Abroad



NOT EUROPE—CHINA

The eyes of the world are riveted on Europe, but war goes on elsewhere in the world—grim, tragic war which takes lives and wrecks homes. Above is a picture of a district in the Chinese capital at Chungking, after a recent Japanese air raid.

London Under Fire

Possibly as a prelude to the long-heralded and long-delayed Nazi invasion of Great Britain, London has been heavily bombed during the past few weeks. Night after night the great city is rocked by gunfire and exploding bombs. Night after night weary Londoners crowd into underground shelters while British and German planes battle far overhead in clouds which reflect the glow of great fires. No one knows when it will stop, nor how much of London will remain standing when it does.

The origins of London date back nearly 2,000 years to the days when the Roman conquerors of Britain built a thick stone wall around a small trading center at a sharp bend in the Thames River. The Celts called it Lyn-dyn, the Romans Londinium. After the Romans departed the city spread far beyond its walls. It grew rapidly in size as Britain grew in power. It became the home of merchant princes, international bankers, shipowners, and it enjoyed special privileges which even kings could not revoke. The city was nearly destroyed by a great plague, in 1665, followed by the famous Fire of London, a year later. Both disasters were partly due to overcrowding, and such far-sighted men as Sir Christopher Wren, the famous architect, urged that the city be rebuilt on safer lines. Their pleas were ignored, however. The old wall finally came down, but it is not forgotten. That part of London formerly encircled by it is still called The City, as distinct from Greater London—which includes the entire metropolitan area.

Greater London today covers an area more than half the size of Rhode Island, and houses 8,200,000 people—more than there are in all Sweden. It contains scores of famous buildings, among them Buckingham Palace (home of the Royal Family), Westminster Abbey, where British kings are crowned, the huge British Museum, and the Houses of Parliament, where Big Ben solemnly tolls the passing hours. In its own peculiar way, London is a picturesque city, with its two-decked buses, its gray stone buildings, pigeons, drab slums, with its narrow streets, smoke and soot, fog

and rains. To some it is ugly, but to the Englishmen there is attractiveness in its immensity, in the great round dome of St. Paul's, or in the vast bulk of the Parliament buildings as seen from the Thames embankment on a rainy night.

German airmen are interested in a different London, however. They see it as the greatest city and financial center of the world, the capital and nerve center of the British Empire. They see it as the greatest port, manufacturing center, and railway terminal of the British Isles. Their bombs are aimed mainly at its 55,000 factories, its six airdromes, its vast docks, warehouses, and oil storage plants. If these are destroyed, the blow to Britain will be severe; the advantage to Germany great.

Coolie Caravan

A thousand years before the Christian era the Chou emperors of China organized what was called the I-chan system of transport to hold their sprawling empire together. A vast network of stone-paved paths, three feet wide, was strung out all over the country, and its crisscross routes dotted with junction stations, sleeping huts, and stables. The fast express of the I-chan routes was carried by imperial messengers, bedecked with flags and mounted on swift horses—an ancient version of the Pony Express. But the great bulk of China's overland trade was carried on the backs of patient coolies who plodded under a 70-pound load for 20 miles a day.

Now that every route into western China but the old caravan trail into Asiatic Russia has been closed, China is once more reverting to the I-chan system. Parchment maps of incredible antiquity have been carefully studied, and many of the old stone paths restored. Caravans landed secretly from junks at obscure ports are carried by long, slow, winding lines of coolies into western China—taking to Chungking materials needed in the war with Japan.

Thus, once again, China is striving to outwit her industrialized opponent by exploiting her greatest single resource—the man power of a population in excess of 457,000,000 people. The stolid, patient coolie who now toils over the ancient trails, heavily loaded and slow, is the man who built the now closed Burma Road, and the cities, airports, forts, and factories of free China. He operates within as well as beyond the Japanese lines. He endures unbelievable hardships without protest, and dies without complaint. There are countless millions of such men in China. Collectively they constitute the greatest bulwark against the invading Japanese.

River Plate Conference

The River Plate (or *Rio de la Plata*, as it appears on some maps) is second only to the Amazon among the river systems of South America. Rising in such widely separated regions as the Andes Mountains in Argentina, the arid uplands of Bolivia, and the Brazilian jungles, its tributaries drain the center of the continent, flowing south and east, and finally merging in a broad

flood which pours into the Atlantic just beyond Buenos Aires and Montevideo. Five countries—Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, and Brazil—use the River Plate system as a commercial highway. All but Brazil look upon this system as their chief gateway to and from world markets.

In Montevideo, Uruguay, representatives of the five River Plate countries will gather next month, for a discussion of economic problems peculiar to themselves. All are exporters of raw materials, and importers of manufactured goods. All feel keenly the losses of European markets caused by the war. In Paraguay, for example, exports have fallen off by 75 per cent within a year. Although they are unable to change the world situation, which threatens them with economic disaster, the five nations hope to relieve the strain by increasing trade with one another. It has been suggested, in one instance, that Argentina can avoid expensive purchases of coal in England and the United States by purchasing wood and oil (as substitute fuel) in Bolivia and Paraguay, repaying her two neighbors with small manufactured goods. Thus the conference will discuss the establishment of free ports along the river, a reduction in tariffs among the five states, the construction of roads, railways, and so on.

It is interesting to note that the River Plate Conference is a direct result of the successful commercial talks opened by Paraguay and Bolivia at the conclusion of their long and costly war, a few years ago. It is expected to form a basis for other regional economic conferences in Latin America.

Egypt's Farouk

While the Germans hurled waves of planes at London, last week, advance units of Italy's North African army moved through clouds of dust along the coastal road from Libya into northwestern Egypt. The entire eastern Mediterranean region immediately became alert. Would General Rodolfo Graziani's troops stop there, or would they attempt to push—260,000 strong—across the blazing deserts beyond and advance to the populous Nile delta, where most of Egypt's population is concentrated? Mussolini declared he aimed only to drive the English out of Egypt and would not fire upon Egyptians unless attacked by them. Would Egypt join its ally, Britain, and resist? Or would it remain passive while British troops and aircraft continued to fight Italians in the country?

To find an answer to these questions many eyes turned to the large gray stone Royal Palace, in Cairo, the residence of Egypt's 20-year-old king, Farouk. The young king's personal leanings are toward England. Although a Moslem, he received most of his education in England and was, in fact, still there when his father, King Fuad, died, in 1936. Farouk returned at



KING FAROUK



THE UNEASY BALKANS

once, and was crowned the following year. A handsome and courteous young man, he was well received by the Egyptian people, and his popularity increased when, early in 1938, he married Farida Zulifcar, the pretty 17-year-old daughter of an Egyptian judge. Shortly after his coronation Farouk showed his determination to rule by ousting the former cabinet and replacing it with a hand-picked government of his own choosing.

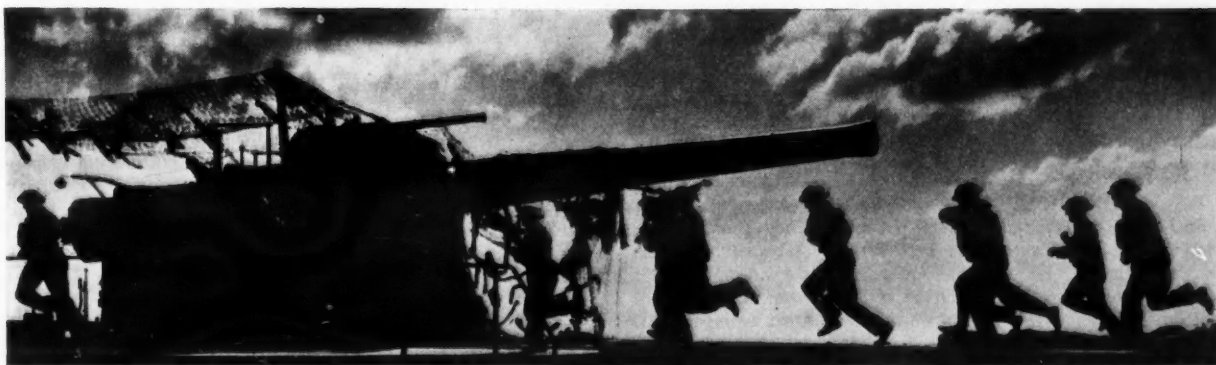
Since it lies athwart some of the greatest trade routes in the world—the Suez route from Europe to the east, and the Mediterranean route from Asia to Africa—Egypt has long been a bone of contention between great powers, and its rulers never have an easy time of it. Now faced with the alternative of remaining loyal to Britain and plunging his country into war, or allowing Italians to invade Egyptian soil, Farouk and his government must make a difficult choice.

Yugoslavia Still Intact

At the close of the World War the victorious Allies rewarded their friends in eastern and southern Europe by enlarging or creating anew four large states—Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. So long as the Allies remained powerful, these states maintained their own positions. Since the tide turned, however, they have begun to founder. Czechoslovakia and Poland have disappeared. Rumania has been shorn of her World War gains. Only the mountainous kingdom of Yugoslavia remains intact today.

That Yugoslavia has been able to survive undisturbed for so long is curious. It borders on Germany. Its long Adriatic coast line faces Italy, with whom it also has a common border. Its 15,703,000 people are divided by race and language among Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Moslems, Macedonian Slavs, Albanians, Bulgars, Magyars (Hungarians), and Germans. In this racial hodge-podge group, rivalry has been high and opportunities for internal risings unusually good. What is more, public opinion in Yugoslavia generally favors democracy over dictatorship, and Britain before Germany. Italy, Hungary, and Bulgaria all claim strips of Yugoslav territory, and it is believed that Germany is interested in the provinces along her own Austrian border. At times it has seemed as though any one or all of these claims might be put forward violently, but the Yugoslav government (headed by Prince Paul, as regent for the young King Peter, and the semi-dictator, Premier Cvetkovitch) has so far managed to avoid serious trouble and to remain at peace.

How long Yugoslavia's good fortune will last is uncertain. Germany, Italy, and Russia are all interested in Yugoslav affairs, but none of the three wants to see either of the others dominant there. Lately, the Yugoslavs have been looking to Russia for support against the Axis, with some success. But Germany and Italy are now beginning to insist that the Yugoslav government declare itself on the side of the Axis, whether the people like it or not. The political and economic pressure of the Axis powers is gradually increasing, and whether the Yugoslavs can resist it for very long is doubtful.



DEFENSE AT DAWN

Somewhere in Britain this picture was taken as members of a gun crew rushed to their posts during exercises. Guns of this kind are spread all along Britain's coast, waiting to receive the invader.

Campaign Brings Third - Term Issue to Fore

(Concluded from page 1)

about dictatorship to define that term before they use it. A dictator, as he is known in Europe, is a man, like Hitler, Mussolini, or Stalin, who rules without parliaments or congresses and without elections. He is above the law. He does not submit his ideas to a congress elected by the people and ask for the support of that congress. President Roosevelt has not only depended upon Congress to legislate, but he has, on numerous occasions, suffered defeat at the hands of Congress. He wanted to enlarge the United States Supreme Court, but when Congress voted against him, his plan had to be given up. He wanted to reorganize the executive departments of the government, but he submitted the plan to Congress and Congress defeated him. Now President Roosevelt is asking the people of the United States to give him another term, but the country is permitted to debate the issue fully and freely. The President's opponents are attacking him and his program vigorously. The great majority of all the newspapers of the country are supporting the President's opponent. This is not the way of dictatorships.

"As a matter of fact, the power which the president of the United States exercises during the next four years is likely to depend more upon whether this country gets into war than upon whether Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Willkie occupies the presidential chair. If the United States should go to war, the president, whoever he may be, will exercise very great power. Many of our liberties will be temporarily suspended, as they always are during wartime. This will not be because the country has accepted dictatorship, but because those in authority must have the power to act quickly and decisively when they are leading the nation against a foreign foe. In wartime, the government assumes a power over industries and over individuals which in peacetime would be considered tyrannical but which is accepted by the people in the faith that the wartime powers will be released when the war is over.

The Next Four Years

"If, as we all hope, the nation is at peace during the next four years, the president of the United States, whether he is Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Willkie, is likely to be held closely in check by Congress. It is probable that if Mr. Roosevelt should continue in office, the majority in Congress will be composed of a combination of Republicans and of Democrats who are not favorable to the New Deal. The President had had a hard time getting his measures through Congress during his second term. There is not the slightest evidence that, under conditions of peace, Mr. Roosevelt would have an easier time getting any of his personal ideas enacted into law during the next four years than he has had during the last four.

"There is evidence, also, that Mr. Willkie, if he should be president, would have a hard time getting his program through Congress. Whatever the outcome of the presidential election will be, the Senate will be Democratic, at least during the next two years. It is overwhelmingly Demo-

cratic now and only one-third of the membership comes up for election this year. The House of Representatives will probably be Republican in case of a Republican presidential victory, but many Republicans do not go along with Mr. Willkie. A majority of the Republicans in the Senate, for example, voted recently against Mr. Willkie's wishes on the issue of the government's having the power to take over factories in time of emergency. We are not likely, then, to have a presidential dictatorship in the United States during the next four years if the country is at peace."

Opponents of the third term do not confine themselves, however, to the argument that the election of Roosevelt for a third term would bring about a dictatorship. Many persons who opposed the third term do not fear dictatorship, at least not immediately, but they think that the third term should be opposed for other reasons. Here is a statement of the case of those who hold such a position:

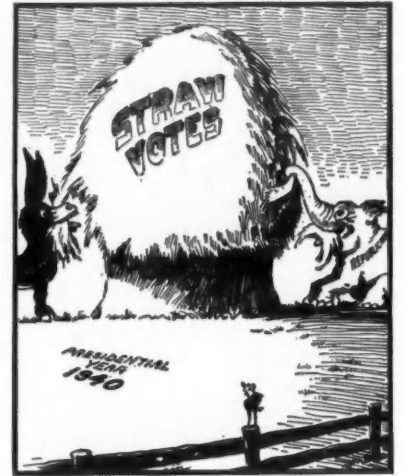
Tremendous Power

"A president of the United States has tremendous power through his control of appointments. By filling appointive government offices with persons who depend upon him, he obtains many supporters. This is called the power of patronage. It is still a great power even though an increasing number of government jobs have been placed under the classified civil service. This gives a president an unfair advantage when he is running against a man who does not have men whom he has appointed in office to support him. A president has this unfair power over opposition when he is running for a second term, but if it is understood that he must not run for a third term, he at least cannot go ahead keeping himself in power unfairly for an indefinite period."

The tradition against a third term says in effect: "You may go ahead keeping yourself in office partly as a result of your control of appointive offices for a while, but you have to stop sometime. You must

port those who are in control of the government. In many cases, they feel that a change in the presidency might lessen their chances of obtaining relief. The man who is in the presidency has an unfair chance to keep himself there. He has an advantage over an opponent and it is unwise for him to keep that advantage over too long a period. The tradition, therefore, that a president should step out at the end of his second term is a wise one.

"Even though a president may not intend to establish an immediate dictatorship, if he remains in power too long, filling the offices and heading the government which feeds millions of people, he is likely gradually to obtain power much greater than that intended by the Constitution. If such a thing should continue, we may slip gradually and almost imperceptibly into a situation resembling that of dictatorship—into a situation from which the voters of the nation cannot easily extricate themselves."



THE HARVEST SEASON IS HERE
SEIBEL IN RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH



THEY'RE OFF
HERBLOCK IN AUSTIN (TEX.) AMERICAN

Opponents of the third term argue also that it is a dangerous thing for the people to get the idea that any one man is indispensable. They say that a period of great stress is probably ahead throughout the world, including the United States. It will be hard to keep democracy going. There will be many attacks upon it, and it is important, under such circumstances, that we maintain the national traditions, one of which is that too great reliance shall not be placed upon any one individual and that there should be a change in the presidency at least once in eight years. If this tradition is not maintained, they argue, it will be easier at some future time for a president to clothe himself with dictatorial powers.

For the Third Term

The Roosevelt supporters reply in this way: "The patronage argument can easily be overrated. If a president is not well liked by the American people, he cannot keep himself in office merely because of his appointments or through the exercise of any other power. Since our government began operations, 31 men have occupied the presidency, but only 12 men have been elected while holding the presidency. Most of our presidents, despite all the power that the office gives them, have been one-termers. It is an exaggeration, therefore, to say that there is danger that a president may continue himself in office indefinitely because of his power over patronage or because he heads a government which grants relief to millions of unemployed who need it."

Roosevelt supporters also emphasize the emergency nature of the present situation. They come back again and again to the statement of George Washington: "I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the services of any man who, on some great emergency, shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public." They point out that the man who established the tradition of two terms was not opposed to the third term in principle. He



BALLOT-STUFFING?
BRESSLER EDITORIAL CARTOONS, N. Y.

stop after eight years. If the third-term tradition is broken down, a president might go ahead using his power of patronage and keeping himself in office indefinitely, or for a long period. He could not do this, of course, if he were a very unpopular president. But if the opinion of the masses of people were fairly evenly divided, the president, through his power of patronage, could turn the scales and keep himself in office, even though a majority of disinterested citizens; that is, of those who had no axes to grind, were opposed to him and his policies."

Another Advantage

Anti-third-termers continue: "Not only does the president have power because of his appointments, but he has power because the government of which he is the head gives benefits to millions of people. The government distributes relief. It actually feeds people by the millions. And those who are receiving help from the government are reasonably inclined to sup-



BANTER AT THE FIGHT CAMPS
THOMAS IN DETROIT NEWS

refused to agree to "the ineligibility of the same person for president, after he should have served a certain course of years."

Without claiming, as some Democrats do, that the election of Willkie would, in effect, be a victory for Hitler, moderate supporters of the third term argue that President Roosevelt has come to be regarded throughout the world as the great defender and exponent of democracy, and they say that during the critical days ahead, he can represent the cause of democracy better than can anyone else. They contend that he has shown his power of leadership and his sense of responsibility and that he is so clearly needed in this hour of crisis that it would be foolish to turn the government over to inexperienced hands.

The outstanding points at issue, then, are likely to be these: (1) How great is the danger of a president's perpetuating himself in power when he controls appointments and also the distribution of relief to millions? and (2) How great is the need for a continuation of Mr. Roosevelt's leadership? This last question naturally raises many others. Before it can be answered, the entire program of President Roosevelt must be examined and compared with the proposed program of the opposition. Different items in these two programs will be considered from week to week during the presidential campaign in THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.

References

"F. D. R. Must Run Again," by Joseph F. Guffey. *Current History*, July 1940, pp. 20-21. The Pennsylvania senator argues that critical world conditions, as well as the necessity for consolidating New Deal social advances, make it necessary to disregard anti-third-term traditions.

"The Third Term," by Styles Bridges. *Current History* June 1940, pp. 38-39. The New Hampshire senator argues against a third term, declaring that the concentration of power in the executive during the past seven years will be intensified even further under a third New Deal administration.

"How Long Should a U. S. President Hold Office?" *Congressional Digest*, May 1938. Entire issue, 30 pages, devoted to pros and cons of third-term question, including considerable historical material.

"Why No Third Term?" by Donald Richberg. *Forum*, August 1939, pp. 61-65. The author, without committing himself, weighs the arguments in favor of and against the third-term precedent.

"No Third Term for Roosevelt," by Oswald Garrison Villard, *Nation*, June 17, 1939, p. 702. Mr. Villard, the well-known liberal editor, sees a genuine danger to democratic government in a precedent-shattering third term. Those who say that Roosevelt is indispensable to deal with current domestic and foreign problems, he declares, are playing into the hands of the fascist elements.

"Must We Draft Roosevelt," by Rexford G. Tugwell. *New Republic*, May 13, 1940, pp. 630-633. President Roosevelt, in the opinion of Mr. Tugwell, is by no means the only man capable of carrying forward the New Deal. But, he contends, the progressive forces of America, as a matter of practical politics, have found that no other Democrat was as capable of assuring the reelection of the Democratic party.

Reasons for the 'Collapse of France Examined

(Concluded from page 1)

France lost nearly three armies and a large part of her tanks, heavy guns, and trucks—of which she possessed too few to begin with. After that the remaining French forces were crushed piecemeal, driven back from one line to another until the Maginot line was taken from the rear, Paris was occupied, and surrender became inevitable. In 43 days Germany thus destroyed a military machine which the French had taken 20 years to build.

But this still does not answer the question of why France fell. Superiority in numbers, equipment, and organization undoubtedly helped the Germans. So did parachute troops, an enormous air force, treason and incompetence on the part of some French officials. Whispering campaigns, false orders sent over the radio—causing well-entrenched forces to abandon positions, and villagers far from the fighting lines to flee, clogging the roads over which reinforcements were attempting to pass, all did their work. But how did this state of affairs come about? Why did France fail in 1940 where she triumphed in 1914? Why was it France, and not Germany, who was outwitted, outfought, and outmaneuvered?

Former Objectives

During the years immediately following the end of the World War it would have seemed fantastic even to think of Germany taking the offensive against France again. The scars of war were fresh in every Frenchman's mind, and France was the dominant power of Europe. Acting in concert with her allies she had stripped Germany of armaments, imposed heavy financial burdens on the German people, and created a vast system of European alliances hemming in Germany west, south, and east, from the English Channel to the Baltic. Above all things the French were determined that Germany should never rise again to take such a fearful toll of French lives and property. And they watched every move of the defeated Germans with the sharp, hard eyes of a cat watching a mouse.

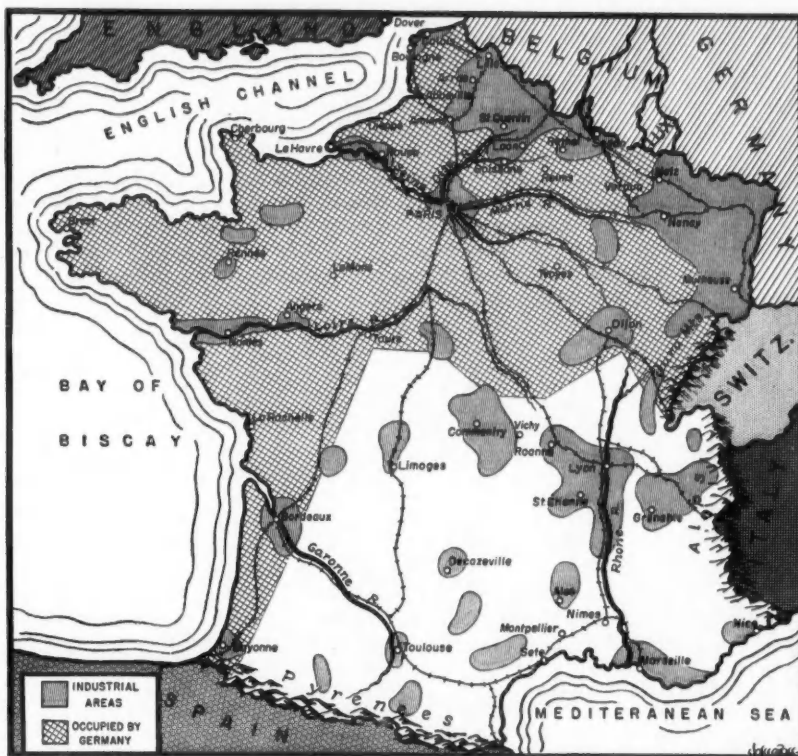
But France in 1920 was a nation with a purpose. France, on that fateful night in January 1933, when Adolf Hitler became leader of a new Germany, was a country without a purpose. She was in the grip of the economic depression that extended over a good part of the world, for one thing. Foreign currencies had decreased in value with the result that French prices were so high (in relation to those in other markets) that foreigners could not afford to buy French products. Exports had fallen off, industries were closing down, unemployment was high, wages had been slashed, and the whole French economic system was approaching exhaustion. New machinery, new plants, new ideas, and new jobs were needed. A succession of weak governments had tried without success to find a means of providing them.

Germany, it is true, was in a similar position. But Germany quickly began to move. The Germans began to build arms, planes, tanks, aircraft. They built new factories, adopted new production methods. They began to take an aggressive attitude toward the rest of the world. Within 10 months of his appointment as Reichschancellor, Hitler withdrew Germany from the League of Nations and from the disarmament conference. Later, as everyone knows, he restored military conscription in Germany, occupied and re fortified the demilitarized Rhineland border facing France. He denounced the Locarno Treaty, by which the large powers had guaranteed the existing borders of western Europe. In 1936 he began to intervene on General Franco's behalf in the Spanish Civil War, under France's very nose. And then, in March 1938, he embarked upon the spectacular series of victorious advances beyond German borders with which everyone is familiar. They began with Austria and finally took in France herself.

While Germany was rapidly achieving unity under Hitler, Frenchmen were argu-

ing among themselves as to what should be done about it. Some refused to take Hitler seriously. One group of hard-headed officials wanted to join with Poland in an immediate attack on Germany with the objective of crushing Hitler before he could prepare. But the English objected, and so

ical groups did not agree on what should be done about Hitler. It was not strange that a number of different policies were adopted and discarded at different times. But in the normal processes of democratic government, the whole country supports the policy of the government in power.



A large area in France is under direct German control. There are reports that the Germans may extend their occupation to include the entire country.

did a very influential group of wealthy Frenchmen who regarded Hitler as a bulwark against communism. This last group thought Hitler should be encouraged. In particular it believed he should be encouraged to attack Russia. Among the liberals and radicals in France, however, the feeling was strong that Russia should be made an ally of France. Still other groups believed that Italy should be brought into the Anglo-French front, and so it went.

A House Divided

There were 18 political parties in the prewar French Republic. For the sake of clarity these are usually split into three large groups. The Right consisted of the conservative parties, those who wished to

Not so in France. The tragic failure of the French Republic must be laid in part at the door of large groups which supported the government only so long as the government followed their own individual wishes. Those who wanted to appease Hitler found their way blocked by those who did not. Those who wanted a strong front against him were neutralized by opposition from the appeasers. Those who wanted friendship with Russia were blocked by those who wanted an understanding with Italy. Now that France has been crushed, each side is laying the blame at its opponents' doors. Each probably deserves some blame. Let us look at two cases.

(1) The Popular Front. This was a strong coalition of parties of the Left

between employers and employees. Red flags were hoisted over some factories, and machines lay idle while across the border a nation twice as large was rushing her munitions and armaments factories at top speed. Blum and his followers were intensely anti-fascist. They sent munitions and arms to the Spanish loyalists, but not in sufficient quantity to enable them to win the war. As a result, France backed a losing cause in Spain, and alienated Italy without gaining anything for herself. It is not true, as sometimes charged, that industrial production decreased during Blum's administration. It actually increased, but many observers believe that if it had not been for the 40-hour week and the sit-down strikes of the Popular Front régime, France would have had many of the materials she so desperately needed last spring.

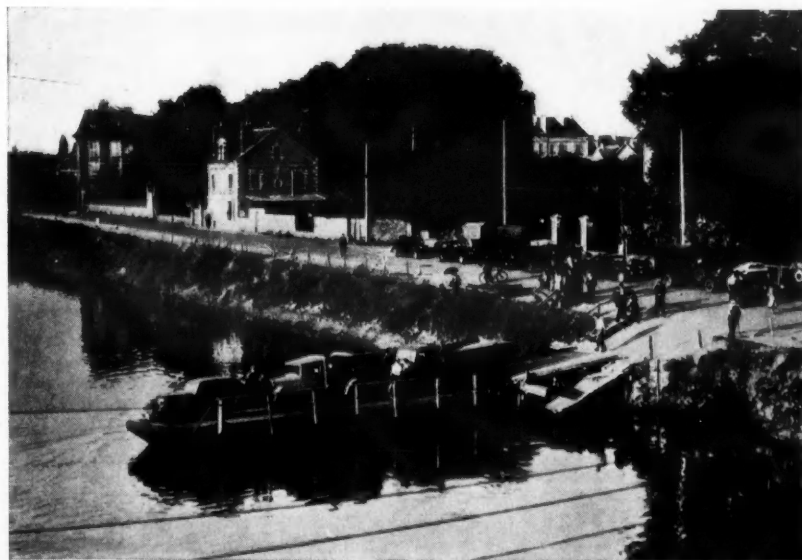
The Conservatives

(2) The Conservatives. A large share of the blame for France's defeat must fall upon the moneyed classes of the Republic. Time and time again when the French government needed money for rearmament, and began to take steps to get it, French financiers began to export their funds and to invest them abroad, well out of reach of the French treasury. Money which should have gone into the expansion of French plants, therefore, went into other plants abroad. When the French government proposed investing its own funds in factories, the cry "socialism" was raised. When war finally became imminent, French businessmen in the upper brackets argued long and insistently over profits. The aircraft industry in France fell into a pitiful state as a result of this haggling. Huge sums were spent for planes which never emerged from a factory. At one time production work on 1,500 planes was ceased abruptly as a new model was substituted. M. W. Fodor, in the *Chicago Daily News*, wrote in June of "hundreds of American planes which for months before the total war had awaited at Casablanca" (in western Africa), and "were never assembled because French plane manufacturers sought more advantageous business arrangements with their government."

At the very last moment a great many manufacturers forgot their profits, hundreds of thousands of laborers worked overtime without extra pay, and a great many of the special interests in France put their shoulders to the wheel in a final desperate effort to stave off the impending disaster. But by then it was too late. The wasted working hours, the unbuilt plants, the blueprint planes, guns, and tanks could not be produced in time. Those upon which work was started in the last hours of the Republic fell into the hands of the Germans. The fortunes withheld from the French government were finally absorbed by the enemy.

If any verdict is passed as to the blame for France's defeat, it will probably lay the blame upon a wealthy class more interested in maintaining its privileged position in the community than in maintaining France's position in Europe. It will fall upon radicals who were more interested in Russia than in France, upon workers who thought too much of the 40-hour week and higher wages and have lost everything as a result. It will fall upon a corrupt press which, while free, permitted its editorial policies to be purchased by foreign powers, including Italy and Germany. And it will fall upon an army officer caste more interested in its own old traditions and its place in the community than in exploring new methods of warfare and preparing itself for whatever might come.

Does this mean that democracy failed in France? Not necessarily. In the opinion of many observers it was not French democracy, but the manner in which the institutions of French democracy were misused that brought about the collapse. In brief, it was the inability of all Frenchmen to understand that their interests lay in France—not in class or political party.



WAITING FOR RECONSTRUCTION

Many bridges were blown up during Germany's swift and crushing attack on France. Until they can be rebuilt the people must rely on crude ferry systems.

see a monarchy restored, the semi-fascist groups, and those representing finance and big business. The Left took in some liberals, Socialists, all the Communists, and a scattering of other radical groups. In between was a vague and uncertain area called the Center.

It was perfectly natural that these polit-

which ruled France while Leon Blum was premier, from 1936 to 1938. The Popular Front introduced many social reforms into France. These included a 40-hour week, pay raises, extra pay for overtime work, and paid vacations for workers. With the Popular Front, in 1936, came a wave of sit-down strikes and extremely bad feeling



From Knowledge to Action



Discussion Clubs

Students who mean business about training for civic life and who wish to get started as soon as possible in the practice of citizenship would do well, we believe, to form themselves into clubs in every school. A discussion club or society may be very useful in the study of public affairs, and work in the club, especially for students of outstanding ability, may be very enjoyable. Here are some of the reasons why membership in a club may be a very valuable experience.

1. The existence of a discussion club to which students who are interested may belong offers an opportunity for the continuous study and discussion of public affairs. Such discussion is carried on, of course, in social studies classes. It is becoming customary for a teacher of history, civics, economics, or social problems to devote at least a day a week to current affairs; and a consideration of these problems offers an opportunity for student participation and discussion. The history or civics class comes to an end in due time, however. The members of the class may follow this work in history or civics with a course in some other of the social studies, but there are few students whose work in the social studies is continuous throughout the high school period. The normal situation is that a student takes a social studies course, and perhaps becomes interested in the study and discussion of public affairs in connection with the course, then after a semester or two, he drops the social studies work and with it the period in which he considers current public problems. He may or may not take up such study later, but at any rate his study and discussion are discontinuous, and being discontinuous, do not tend to develop consistent habits of thought, study, and discussion—habits which are likely to be permanent.

Now it is the development of permanent habits of reading, thinking, and discussing which characterizes the good citizen. If such habits are not formed and maintained while one is in school, if they are not strong and deep-rooted enough so as to continue to be effective after the school days are over, the work in citizenship obtained in the school will turn out in the long run to have been really useless.

It is highly important, therefore, that in each school there should be a club or group engaging in the discussion of public affairs. Students whose interest is aroused in these subjects and in this sort of discussion may become members of a club. The membership is continuous throughout the school period. Courses in the social studies may come and go, but the club goes on without a break. The discussion of public problems which goes on in the club tends to become a part of the life habits of the young people. These habits are so firmly grounded that when the school days are over the young people are likely to go on reading about public affairs and discussing them with their friends. If they do this, their continuing civic education is assured.

2. Sound methods of discussion may be developed through practice in the discussion clubs. Something may be done along this line in the classroom. As a matter of fact, it is important that something should be done. But there is a limit to the amount that can be done during recita-

tion periods. A club which meets regularly, perhaps once a week, under the guidance of an instructor, can offer a training not only in the study of public affairs but in logical and objective discussion. Attention may be paid not only to the content of a discussion but to its method.

A club with weekly meetings will offer a good opportunity for the encouragement of rationality, logic, and fairness of discussion. The tendency of disputants to wander from a subject or to advocate their own ideas without listening to the offerings of their opponents may be corrected in the course of the conversational debates which may be had at the regular meetings.

3. Membership in a club which meets regularly to consider public affairs may offer a student an emotional outlet. It may tend to bridge the gap between thought and action, and it is tremendously important that such a thing should be done. If young people get into the habit of forming opinions about questions and then doing nothing, of having emotions aroused without taking action, they are likely to develop a habit of non-action; and if they do this, they will never be effective citizens. If, however, they form themselves into a club, they will get into the habit of speaking their minds freely and of advocating action. They may even prepare resolutions calling for action by public officials. This is a form of civic participation. There are many ways in which they may act in building public opinion in accordance with their own views.

A club should not be political in the sense that it lines up with one party or another; but its members, having threshed out public questions in debate, may become aroused to the point of taking individual action toward the molding of opinion. At the very least, they gain practice in the expression of their views, and this in itself renders them more efficient as citizens. The primary duty of the citizen is to help mold public opinion through the forceful expression of his own views.

Valuable Training

4. Leadership is developed in clubs which have regular meetings and which offer an opportunity for debate and discussion. Many men who have assumed leadership in their professions or in public life give a great deal of credit to their experience in the literary societies where they first practiced the arts of leadership. A student may gain a certain amount of experience in the classroom, but his opportunity in that direction is limited.

5. A club or discussion group in the school gives opportunity for a very pleasant kind of social life. It is particularly helpful to the student who is qualified for leadership in the political world. Our schools pay too little attention to this type of student. They have a great deal of time for the athletic type, but they do not offer sufficient stimulation to the activities of the student whose primary interest is in the civic life of the community. The sponsoring and support of discussion clubs or groups would

tend to correct this weakness.

It is undesirable to make membership in a club of students compulsory. It should be a voluntary enterprise. Many students are not interested in public affairs, and their presence in a club would be stifling in its effect. Let it be known that membership in the club is a privilege which is within reach of the students who wish to participate.

As soon as a group of students has been formed, the next question is to define the character of the body. The organization should not be complicated, but some sort of organization there must be. There should, for example, be a simple set of rules. These rules may or may not be termed a constitution, but whatever term may be used, they should contain a number of definite provisions. First, they should state the name of the organization. Next there should be a brief statement of purpose. Then there should be a clause on membership. Not only should membership be voluntary but it should be limited. If a group is too large, it cannot do effective work. The best discussion can ordinarily be carried on in a group of 20 to 30. If the number wishing admission is much larger than 30, a second club should be formed.

The qualifications of members should next be considered. In most cases it will probably be found wise to limit membership to those who have made at least fair grades in social studies classes. As a general rule, good work in a club of this kind cannot be expected from students who have not shown enough ability or interest to do well in the social studies work.

It may be found desirable to choose members from a list of eligibles presented by the social science teachers. Election may be either by a simple majority or by a two-thirds vote.

Framework

The constitution should provide for officers. There should be a presiding officer who may be called a president, a chairman, or a speaker. There should also be a vice-president whose duty will be to preside in the absence of the president or to take his place if he should resign or move away, or if a vacancy should occur in some other way. There should be a secretary or clerk to keep the minutes of the meetings and the records. There should be a treasurer to take charge of any funds which may be collected. There should be such an officer, even though no dues are provided for, because the club may make money through programs or in some other way. There should be a program committee. In some cases there is an executive committee consisting of the elected officers, and they make the programs; or there may be a separate program committee appointed by the president or chairman. There should be a faculty adviser. The faculty adviser may be called an adviser, or sponsor, or critic.

The officers should be elected by a majority of the members, and it is probably desirable in most cases that they should serve for one semester. Shorter service scarcely permits the accumulation of experience so that the meetings will be well handled. On the other hand, if the term is for an entire school year, too few members will have the benefit of the experience



Students should not be forced to join.



More heat than light.



Don't be a trouble-maker.

which may be gained from being an officer.

The time and frequency of the meetings should be set forth in the constitution or the rules. The usual frequency is once a week. Weekly meetings are frequent enough so that the interest may be maintained, yet not so frequent as to cause them to be a burden. At the start it may be that an hour for a meeting will be sufficient, but if the club should become really successful and if animated discussion should take place regularly, it may be well to permit two-hour meetings, or the time of closing may be left indefinite.

Meetings may be held in a classroom, though where possible it is well to have them in a room where there is a piano, for musical numbers enliven a session and should be provided where this can be done conveniently.

The discussions at club meetings should ordinarily be informal. They should be in the form of conversations, for one of the primary purposes is to furnish training in intelligent, meaningful conversation. It is a good thing, however, for the club to give part of its time to discussion which is carried on in accordance with recognized parliamentary procedures. It is well for the constitution to provide that in all matters not covered by the constitution and the rules, Robert's "Rules of Order" shall apply.

In discussions of public problems, it is important that one should be constructive. You may in your club discuss some matter of school policy, some problem with which the student council may be concerned. Or you may be dealing with a problem of the city or town. Whatever the question is, do not discuss it in a faultfinding spirit. Do not be a trouble-maker. Consider the problem from the standpoint of those who are in authority as well as those who may be outside critics. Let your purpose be to find the best solution to problems rather than to make charges against anyone. It is important that this rule be followed. Destructive critics and trouble-makers are

likely to get nowhere, but those who work in a constructive spirit for improvement are the most valuable citizens in a democracy.



Practical political training may be derived from membership in a discussion club.

Information Test Answers

American History

1. 19th amendment. 2. McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Franklin Roosevelt. 3. Alexander Hamilton. 4. 1831. 5. Arizona. 6. Russia. 7. True.

Geography

1. Texas; Rhode Island. 2. Hudson, Mississippi, Ohio, Missouri, Columbia. 3. True. 4. Haiti. 5. Sugar and pineapples. 6. New Orleans. 7. Fifth; fourth.

PRONUNCIATIONS: Leon Blum (lay'on—o as in go,—bloom'), Buenos Aires (bway'noes i'rays—i as in ice), Casablanca (kah-sah-blank'kah), Cvetkovitch (tsvet'koe-vitch), Farouk (fah-rook'), Fuad (foo-ahd'—oo as in foot), Rodolfo Graziani (roe-doe'foe grahtsee-ahn'nee), Hainan (hi'nahn'—i as in ice), Haiphong (hi'fong'—i as in ice), Maginot (mah'zee'noe'), Montevideo (mon-tay-vee-day'oe), Pétain (pay'tan'), Rio de la Plata (ree'oe day' lah' plah'tah), Yunnan (yoon'nahn'—oo as in foot), Croat (kroe-ah't').